

Georgetown University

POST-9/11 ISLAMOPHOBIA
IN THE UNITED STATES

Sorell Richard

Advisor: Professor Samer Shehata

Department of Justice and Peace Studies

Senior Thesis

Spring 2004

Table of Contents

<i>Introduction</i>	3
<i>Historical Overview y of Muslims in America</i>	7
<i>Pre 9/11 Concerns</i>	11
<i>Non-Muslim Views & Perspectives</i>	15
<i>Muslim Americans in Post 9/11 United States</i>	
<i>Hate Crimes</i>	19
<i>Verbal Abuse</i>	23
<i>The Role of the Media</i>	27
<i>The U.S. Government</i>	33
<i>Muslim American Responses</i>	41
<i>Positive Outcomes</i>	45
<i>Conclusions</i>	48
<i>Bibliography</i>	49

Introduction

I will always remember being woken up that morning by my roommate's mother, shrieking on the other end of the telephone line, "Have you heard? The Twin Towers have been hit and they are coming towards the Pentagon!" In my sleepy, only half-conscious state I said, "Yeah, I know. It's ok. I'll tell her you called," and hung up the phone. I hadn't even let go of the phone when it rang again and my other roommate's father directed us to turn on the television immediately. I watched the horrific, fiery scene that was broadcast from every channel, the burning towers, as my mind tried to make sense of what just happened over the last few minutes. I will always remember walking across Georgetown's campus and seeing students holding each other, crying together, shaking uncontrollably, trying relentlessly to reach a loved one with nonfunctioning cell phones; watching from my apartment's rooftop across the Potomac to smoke twist and rage out of the Pentagon; hearing the sirens of too few ambulances race toward Georgetown University Hospital; the ghost town that Washington, D.C. became that day while a group of students trekked across the city with the intention of giving blood, with the hope of contributing *something* to so many people in need, only to find Red Cross personnel having to turn volunteers away due to a lack of resources.

It was September 11, 2001.

Following this unprecedented event, an overwhelming sense of camaraderie and volunteerism seemed to sweep across our cities, communities and country. Neighborhoods held candlelight vigils and individual selfless acts from 9/11 continue to be commemorated. Americans, regardless of religion, ethnicity, class, race or gender,

across the U.S. and abroad felt loss and pain, and continue to deal with the consequences of these infamous attacks. Immediately following this tragedy was a shared feeling of sympathy and strength among many Americans. The media and the U.S. government continue to speak of the camaraderie felt during this difficult time, when Americans helped each other in a time of desperate need. Firemen drove hours to get to New York and Washington, DC in order to help at Ground Zero and save people stuck underneath the rubble. Across the nation memorials were built in loving memory and communities came together for vigils, meditations, prayers and hopes of peace. Many donated blood, resources or time to the countless organizations working tirelessly to help victims and their families. In only two days after September 11, the United Way and the Community Trust raised over \$66 million through their September 11 Fund to help victims. By September 15 this fund had raised \$100 million. It only took a week for the September 11 Fund to begin giving grants to organizations such as Safe Horizon to distribute the money to victims, and by September 19 victims were able to receive up to \$1500 on the spot.¹ Also by this date the Red Cross was in the process of training over 30, 000 volunteers. However, this supportive solidarity has been marred by a substantial increase in social discrimination towards Muslim Americans.

The great surge of social unity has been tainted by prejudice and violence toward Americans who fit the stereotype of how a terrorist is supposed to look. The stereotypical terrorist for many people in the United States is of Arab, South Asian or African origin and Muslim, an identity that is markedly different from the white, Christian identity that shapes the norm in U.S. culture. As incidents of terrorism increasingly lie in our media's headlines and at the forefront of U.S. foreign policy, Americans have become more

¹ Brill, p.35-78.

fearful of terrorism as a viable threat. The association between Islam and terrorism has increased many Americans' fear of Muslims within the United States and from other nations. The fear of Islam is an aspect of many Americans' cultural consciousness that influences how they think, act, and respond to others. This influence affects behavior both consciously and subconsciously, through emotion and rationality. Culture involves mentalities that are socially created and that permeate the thoughts and actions of individuals within that culture. The danger of discrimination arises when cultural perspectives are not critically examined or even acknowledged, which is especially problematic when such mindsets develop out of strong emotions, such as in response to a crisis, rather than through discussion and reason. This essay will examine an increasingly prevalent and negative representation of Muslims in America by looking at the social and political contexts of Muslim Americans before and after September 11, 2001.

I will first explore the history of Muslims in the United States in order to see how past experiences have influenced present-day situations. This includes immigration trends, characteristics of Muslim American communities and assimilation patterns into American society. I will look at the severity and frequency of hate crimes against Muslim Americans before September 11, other responses to terrorist attacks on the United States, the media's depiction of Arabs and Muslims, the U.S. government's treatment of anti-Islamic sentiment and discrimination and response to Arab and Muslim American concerns, and Arab and Muslim Americans' views of themselves in relation to U.S. society.

Using the pre-9/11 information as a basis for comparison, I will then examine the same issues regarding the situation of Muslim Americans in post-9/11 United States:

social discrimination, the role of the media, the U.S. government and Muslim Americans' perspectives on themselves and U.S. society. Looking at Muslim Americans in the U.S. specifically both before and after September 11, 2001 provides insights into how U.S. society has affected the changing experience of Muslim American in the United States after September 11.

Historical Overview of Muslims in America

It is difficult to accurately estimate how many people in the world are Muslim or, specifically, how many Americans are Muslim. CAIR (the Center for American-Islamic Relations) reports that there are 1.2 billion Muslims in the world. This constitutes 22 % of the world population and makes Islam the world's second largest religion, behind Christianity, with 33% of the world population as followers. The American Muslim Council reported there were between 5 and 8 million Muslims in the United States in 1991.² The Center for American Muslim Research and Information estimated 6.1 million Muslims in the United States in 1997.³ The difficulty of determining exactly how many Muslims live in the U.S. is a result of several factors. First, numbers are changing due to immigration, conversion and birth rates. In addition, the Census Bureau of the United States does not ask citizens questions regarding religion. Furthermore, many Muslim Americans may wish to keep their religion private and will refuse to answer questions regarding their faith, either for security or personal reasons. Many Americans are Muslim by birth, but have not continued practicing their religion over time. Other Americans are Muslim, but do not associate with Islamic organizations or institutions. These Muslims are sometimes referred to as "Grasshopper Muslims," "Eid Muslims" or "Cultural Muslims."⁴ Contrary to some stereotypes, many Muslim Americans do not go to mosque or do not choose to wear a beard or the hijab (the Muslim traditional head scarf), choices that some people habitually and stereotypically associate with Muslims. Thus, many

² Nu'man, Fareed H. "The Muslim Population in the United States—'A Brief Statement'." American Muslim Council. Dec. 1992.

³ Ba-Yunus and Siddiqui. P.28.

⁴ Ba-Yunus, Ilyas and Siddiqui, M. Moin. *A Report on Muslim Population in the United States of America*. New York: Center for American Muslim Research and Information. 1998. p.8.

Americans may not be socially regarded as Muslim even if they personally consider themselves to be religious. For these reasons and others, it is difficult to measure the numbers of Muslims in the U.S.

Historically, dominant American culture commonly categorizes subcultures or minority cultures into larger, social groups, such as grouping together all Muslims under a general “Muslim American” identity rather than acknowledging a Muslim immigrant’s specific country of origin. Islam is currently the fastest growing religion in the United States, due to conversions, immigration and high birth rates. However, Muslim Americans, like all Americans, are extremely diverse in their individual historical experiences, religious beliefs, cultural practices and social roles. Thus, the social labeling of “Muslims” can be confusing. Often categorizations and identifications overlap or are unclear. As is true for any ethnic grouping of peoples, it is crucial to keep in mind the diversity of experiences that exists among Muslim Americans.

The most concentrated Muslim populations are California, New York and Illinois (in descending order). We can differentiate between three main groups of Muslim Americans: African Americans (about 42% of Muslim Americans), South Asian Americans (about 24 %) and Arab Americans (about 12%).⁵ African Americans constitute the largest group of converts to Islam in the U.S., specifically African American males, while Arab and South Asian Americans form the largest immigrant groups. The earliest writings of Muslims in the Americas are pre-Colombian and are of Muslims who came for trading purposes. Although authors’ works dealing with Muslims in the Americas during the “prelude to the Age of Discovery” include Leo Wiener, Basil Davidson, Clyde Ahmed-Winters, Professor Ivan Van Sertima, Dr. Abdul Hakim Quick

⁵ Nu’man, Fareed H., figures are as of 1991.

and Barry Felder.⁶ While the presence of Muslims in America predate U.S. independence, significant numbers were not reported until the first wave of Arab immigrants, beginning in the late nineteenth century. The twentieth century is scarred with many harsh setbacks to the acceptance and assimilation of Muslims in the United States. In 1923 the U.S. Supreme Court ordered South Asians as “non-white and ineligible for citizenship.”⁷

Many African slaves who were kidnapped and survived the forced journey to the United States were also Muslim, but there are no records that their religion outlived slavery. There was a rebirth of Islam among African Americans in the early twentieth century, when many African Americans, seeking religious beliefs other than those presented by American Christians, the majority of whom were white and many of whom were racist, began identifying with new religions.

Arab Americans are mostly from Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, and Morocco, but additionally immigrate from Saudi Arabia, other North African nations and the Persian Gulf. The first wave of Arabs to the U.S. arrived in the late nineteenth century. Throughout the twentieth century many relatives of these initial immigrants followed suit and joined their family members in the U.S. Additional relatives, who were in turn followed by more family members, continued the cycle. The wave of Arab immigrants following the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 continues to the present and includes people with a wide range of education and work experience. Arabs are frequently lumped together as having a uniform identity, but in reality have very unique national histories that mainstream U.S. society often overlooks or remains

⁶ Ba-Yunus and Siddiqui, p.10.

⁷ Leonard, Karen Isaksen. *Muslims in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2003. p.14.

ignorant of. Christian and Muslim immigrants first identified themselves with their nation of origin as opposed to the larger Arab region or their religion. Only in the 1950s and 60s did Arab Americans begin to strongly associate themselves with a distinctively Muslim identity.⁸ This new self-consciousness came about partly in response to international incidents involving the United States and the Arab world, such as the Suez Crisis in 1956 and the 1967 Arab-Israeli War. It was furthered by foreign Muslim students in the U.S. and the creation of national Arab American organizations, like the Association of Arab American University Graduates (AAUG) established in 1967 and the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA), which was founded in 1972.

South Asian Americans have immigrated from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Afghanistan and form the largest group of immigrant Muslims in the United States.⁹ The immigration of South Asians to the United States was greatly restricted during World War I and afterward under that National Origins Quota Act of 1924, which favored immigrants from Western Europe (particularly northwestern Europe). This act was reversed by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization act of 1965. Thus, the majority of South Asian Americans have come to the U.S. after 1965. There was also a wave of immigrants from Afghanistan following the Soviet invasion of 1979. Furthermore, the Luce-Celler Act of 1946 had reversed the 1923 claim that denied U.S. citizenship to South Asians.

⁸ Leonard, 12.

⁹ Leonard, 13.

Pre-9/11 Concerns

The United States is a country of immigrants, yet it is considerably difficult for immigrants to assimilate into mainstream U.S. culture, including Muslims. Language, education, religious and cultural differences have been common barriers to social integration and reasons for marginalization. Muslim Americans faced the common difficulties of immigrants trying to adapt to U.S. society—racism, class discrimination, language obstacles, and social discrimination—but throughout the twentieth century, anti-Muslim discrimination in the U.S. made assimilation especially difficult for Muslim Americans. There are numerous factors that helped foster an anti-Islamic mindset among so many Americans, including the increasing popularity of Islam among African Americans, xenophobia, contentious political relations between the United States and the Arab world, and acts of terrorism in the United States.

Acts of terrorism against the United States throughout the twentieth century have added to the social prejudice against Muslims and the assumptions about and fears of Muslims, or people who are perceived as Muslim, in the United States. Terrorist acts against Americans abroad in the Arab world or by radical Islamic groups have exacerbated many Americans' distrust and fear of the 'Orient' and have intensified Americans' quest for security over cooperation. Significant incidents of terrorism against citizens of the United States include the fifty-two American citizens taken hostage at the U.S. embassy in Tehran in 1979 for 444 days by militant Islamic radicals; the suicide bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, Lebanon in April of 1983 that killed sixty-three people (17 of which were Americans); the suicide bombing in October of the same year

against Marine barracks in Beirut, the bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait two months later; the decade-long Lebanese hostage crisis beginning with David Dodge, the president of the American University of Beirut, in 1982; the September 1984 bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, the hijacking and murder of two American officials from USAID (United States Agency for International Development) on Kuwait Airways flight 221 in December 1984; the hijacking of TWA flight 847 and murder of navy diver Robert Dean Stethem in June 1985; the bombing of the West Berlin discotheque La Belle in April 1986; and the bombing of Pan Am flight 103 in December 1988 that exploded over Scotland and killed 270 people.¹⁰ These numerous incidents of terrorism in the Middle East against Americans abroad have collectively augmented many Americans' suspicions and insecurities, and sudden terrorist attacks within U.S. borders intensified fears and tension to an even greater degree.

The bombing on April 19, 1995 in Oklahoma City of the Murrah federal building that killed 168 people led many Americans to jump to conclusions and make assumptions regarding who constitutes terrorists and what the U.S. must do to protect itself from these people. Without sufficient evidence, many Americans blamed Middle Easterners for the horrific attacks. Several news programs professed that Middle Eastern men were seen fleeing from the scene and former Congressman Dave McCurdy announced to television cameras that there existed "very clear evidence of the involvement of fundamentalist Islamic terrorist groups." He went on to say that Islamic Conferences had been held in Oklahoma City, such as a conference in 1992.¹¹ CNN reported that Middle Eastern men were being sought; the *New York Times* claimed that some Arab men had been arrested.

¹⁰ "Terrorist Attacks on Americans: 1979-1988." [Pbs online](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/target/etc/cron.html). 2001.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/target/etc/cron.html>

¹¹ Deflem.

Anticipating an anti-Muslim backlash, many national organizations such as the ADC (the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee) jumped at the chance to condemn the attacks and offer support to victims of the bombing. Nonetheless, violence and harassment against Muslim Americans and Muslim and Arab American organizations increased after the Oklahoma City bombing, including threats (such as via telephone), harassment in school, abusive messages via radio and the destruction of property as a 'warning' against anti-American tendencies.

Harassment of Muslim Americans became a form of control for the U.S. government, according to some observers. Between 1975 and 1986 there was a large increase in FBI coming to the homes of Arab Americans in order to ask questions and intimidate.¹² It became common practice for the FBI to question Arab Americans' relatives and attempt to instill suspicion of certain Arabs or Muslims among other members of their community. There was an especially strong fear of Arab Americans supporting Palestine in the 1980s. Many prominent Arab Americans were held under suspicion and targeted by the FBI. Abdeen Jabara, for example, a civil rights attorney in Detroit, first came under FBI surveillance in 1967. After years of harassment and then being arrested by the FBI for protesting the closure of Gaza to food shipments, Jabara filed suit with the help of the ACLU and finally won in 1984. The FBI disposed of the 400 plus pages of information it had gathered on Jabara and acknowledged that their findings amounted to no more than the legal practice of his Constitutional rights as an American citizen.¹³

¹² Shah, Mowahid. "The FBI and the Civil Rights of Arab-Americans." *ADC Issues*. Issue 5. 1986.

¹³ "Abdeen Jabara: Champion from and of the Heartland." *CaféArabica*.
<http://www.cafearabica.com/people/people12/peojabara1.html>

There is a history of discrimination against Arab, Muslim and Sikh Americans in the United States. Hate crimes against Arab Americans increased in the 1970s after the OPEC oil embargo of 1973 and U.S dependence on Arab nations' oil became a public concern. Many incidents can be cited to indicate a prejudiced mindset toward these minority communities among a great number of Americans and law enforcement agencies. For example, in June 1974 arson was committed against the office building of the Action Committee on American Arab Relations in New York City. Dr. M.T. Mehdi, head of the committee, criticized the conduct of New York City's mayor at the time, Mayor Beame, in relation to the incident and to Arab American relations in general. "We feel that Mayor Abraham Beame has as least an indirect responsibility for this expansion of violence in the city. Beame has been attacking Arab people in his speeches—encouraging those thugs to take the law into their own hands."¹⁴ The Arab American community recognized their leaders' failure to respond to such discrimination. Furthermore, such poor leadership can increase violence, harassment and discrimination toward minorities. Even U.S. politicians and public figures have participated in discrimination against Muslims. In 1977 Federal Trade Commissioner Paul Rand Dixon called Ralph Nader a "dirty Arab," and even after a request from the National Association of Arab Americans refused to apologize directly to Mr. Nader.¹⁵ Such incidents foster a sharp disconnect between Muslim Americans and their government, who theoretically, morally and legally should be protecting their rights and interests, but whose prejudice and discrimination have frequently taken the noble place of equality and justice.

¹⁴ Mehdi, Turner. *New York Post*. June 4, 1974.

¹⁵ Mehdi, 132-133.

Non-Muslim American Views & Perspectives

Terrorism has historically been associated with Islam, for many complex reasons, largely due to the conventional way of looking at the relationship between the United States and Arab nations as in fundamental opposition to each other.

American scholars and bureaucrats have traditionally defined the Other as the Orient, which consists of Arabs and Muslims. Islam was born and continues to flourish in the Arab World, and subsequently there is an overwhelming tendency for many Americans to equate Islam to the Arab World and vice versa, even though many Arabs are not Muslim and only 12.4% of Muslim Americas is Arab.¹⁶ The Orient is the opposite of the West, which is Christian, powerful, developed, rational and civilized. The Orient is Muslim, weak, emotional, extravagant and barbaric.¹⁷ The opposition is created and enforced by numerous binaries—religious (Islam and Christianity), geographic (the East and the West), political (The U.S. and Western Europe and the Arab World)—and additionally many connotative contrasting characteristics—the United States traditionally views itself as civilized, progressive, scientific, controlled and righteous while viewing the East as the other and thus everything that the West is not: savage, undeveloped, sexual, deviant, rash, irrational and wild. This is the opposition that Edward Said articulates in his landmark book *Orientalism* (1978), which criticizes the basis for prevailing American perceptions of the East. The Orientalist viewpoint has affected politicians, scholars and artists—public policy, literature, cinema, media, and academia—in the way it defines people from the Arab World. In an article written twenty-five years

¹⁶ Nu'man, Fareed H. 1991.

¹⁷ Said, Edward. "Arabs, Islam and the Dogmas of the West." *The New York Times Book Review*, 31. Oct. 1976.

later, Said describes current manifestations of Orientalism in the United States: “the hardening of attitudes, the tightening of the grip of demeaning generalization and triumphant cliché, the dominance of crude power allied with simplistic contempt for dissenters and ‘others.’”¹⁸ His conclusions articulate the value laden mindset that has historically shaped U.S. identity, perception of Islam, views of peoples from the Middle East, North Africa and Asia, and U.S. foreign policy toward Arab nations. His distinctions have led to the current mentality of West vs. East, Us vs. Them, and Good vs. Evil. President Bill Clinton demonstrated this binary mindset after the Oklahoma City Bombing in 1995 by establishing, without evidence, that the perpetrators were anti-American, foreign, outside of the United States politically, culturally and socially. President Clinton summed up the bombing as “an attack on the United States, our way of life and everything we believe in.”¹⁹ The ‘Us v. Them’ outlook continues and the distinctions are made stricter and harsher under President George W. Bush following September 11 attacks: “Every nation, in every region now has a decision to make. Either you are with us, or you are with the terrorists.”²⁰

Americans have tried to understand people from Arab countries by adopting a mental framework that organizes and orders groups of people according perceived similar attributes. This type of compartmentalization is fundamentally limiting and leads to far-reaching generalizations, stereotypes and prejudices. This ordering and identification has affected how Americans have viewed immigrants. Orientalism has similarly impacted the

¹⁸ Said, Edward. “Orientalism 25 Years Later: Worldly Humanism v. the Empire-Builders.” Counterpunch. 8/4/03. <http://www.counterpunch.org/said08052003.html>

¹⁹ Deflem, Mathieu. “The Globalization of Heartland Terror: International Dimensions of the Oklahoma City Bombing.” Toronto, June 1995.

²⁰ Bush, George W. “Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People.” The White House. 9/20/01.

scholarship of the Arab and Muslim World. Americans' desire for classification—whether to form legal, social or academic groups—has neglected the differences and variety in Muslim experiences. Melanie McAlister, Associate Professor of American Studies at George Washington University, states in her book *Epic Encounters*, “The attempt to tell a ‘total story’ of culture and society that would tie together the diversity of the region was itself something of an imperializing ambition, and Middle East studies, like some other area studies programs, often ended up overly concerned with the attempt to construct a content for itself.”²¹ The intellectual dichotomy has fed into a mass psychology that immediately fears people and things from the Arab world, including Islam. This way of thinking is essentialist; it assumes certain traits to be true for all Arabs and Muslims. For many Americans, Arabs equal Muslim which equal fanatic, which equals terrorism. Thus, we have a train of assumptions that causes the sight of a person with dark skin or a beard or a veil in the U.S. to be feared by some as a potential terrorist.

The binary opposition that Orientalism established resonates through many contemporary public figures. Multi-millionaire Christian evangelist and faith healer Benny Hinn announced, “This is not a war between Arabs and Jews. It’s a war between God and the devil.”²² The PEW Research Center’s June 2003 survey on religion and politics in the United States concluded that the American public is increasingly seeing Islam as a religion that fosters violence. In March 2002, 25% of the Americans surveyed believed that Islam is more likely to encourage violence above all other religions, but in June 2003, 44% of the 2,002 adults surveyed shared this belief.²³ These reports support

²¹ McAlister, Melanie. *Epic Encounters*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2001.

²² “Verbal Attacks on Muslims by: Graham, Buckley, Hinn, Falwell, Robertson, Swaggart & Baldwin.”

²³ “Religion and Politics: Contention and Consensus.” The PEW Research Center. July 24, 2003.

the conclusion that a substantial number of Americans associate harmful values to Islam or negative attributes to Muslim individuals and, furthermore, that these numbers are increasing. In the case of Islam, many Americans deduce specific character traits based on an individual's religious preferences. These mental associations coincide with an appalling increase in hate crimes committed against Muslim Americans, which further encourages the acknowledgement of existing social tensions and suspicions toward Muslims in the U.S. The results from another survey conducted in June 2003 by the PEW Research Center determined that 49% of Americans perceive Muslims to be anti-American. This percentage rose from 36% as of March 2002. The government's War on Terrorism extends far beyond politics; it is a cultural war that has been constructed by political leaders, media conglomerates, religious leaders, scholars and more as a cultural conflict with overlapping identities: Christians v. Muslims, West v. East, good v. evil.

Muslim Americans in Post 9/11 United States

Hate Crimes

Following September 11, 2001, many Muslim Americans have felt particularly uncertain of their identity within American society. Many have not wanted to admit their ethnicity or religion when asked, practice their religion openly or even walk the streets alone out of fear of being attacked or harassed. After September 11, 2001, Arab and Muslim Americans have faced a colossal increase in violence and civil rights abuses from fellow Americans, the United States government and the United States media. Many people have been targets of anti-Islamic hate crimes because of their appearance, such as the attempted murder in New Bedford, MA of a Hindu pizza deliveryman on June 23, 2004.²⁴

The FBI's 2001 *Hate Crimes Report* shows an increase in over 1600% of state-reported crimes against Muslims in the U.S., up to 481 in 2001 from 28 in 2000.²⁵ These incidents of prejudice and discrimination continue to occur on a daily basis throughout the United States, and the reported numbers alone attest to the magnitude of this social travesty. The Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) reported 1, 516 complaints of harassment and violence against Muslims in the United States in the first year following September 11, 2001. This number is three times the amount reported the

²⁴ Henry, Ray. "Teen Gets 7 ½ Years For Attack on Student." *The Standard Times*. March 20, 2004.
<http://www.queencityforum.com/FritschArchive06.html>

²⁵ "2001 FBI Hate Crimes Statistics Act." *Anti-Defamation League*. 2004.
http://www.adl.org/Learn/hate_crimes_laws/HCSA_FBI.asp

previous year.²⁶ The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee reported over 600 violent incidents committed against Arab Americans or people perceived as Arab since September 11, 2001.²⁷ Over 300 hate crimes have been reported against Sikh Americans since the attacks.²⁸ The South Asian American Leaders of Tomorrow recorded 645 recorded hate crime incidents in just the first week following September 11, 2001. In addition, 49 assaults, 92 incidents of vandalism or arson and 465 incidents of threats or intimidation were reported.²⁹

Mosques and homes have been burned and vandalized from coast to coast, such as the August 2003 burning of an Islamic center in Savannah Georgia and a pick-up truck driver's intentional crash into an Islamic center in Tallahassee, Florida the year before. The FBI's 2001 *Hate Crimes Report* found 123 state-reported cases of vandalism against Muslims for that year.³⁰ Since the attacks of 9/11 Kuwaiti-born Johnny Fares of Washington, D.C. has had "Foreigner Leave This Country" chalked on his driveway, trash thrown about his lawn, car windows broken and tires slashed several times, yard equipment valuing over \$18, 000 stolen and on Saturday, October 11, 2003, a trailer outside his home was marked with, "Bin Laden lives here."³¹

²⁶ Sabir, Nadirah Z. "A Year Lateer, Exploring What it Means to be an American and to be a Muslim." *The Muslim News*. Oct. 9, 2002. www.muslimnews.co.uk/news/news.php?sub=177

²⁷ W. Shora, Kareem. American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. Civil Rights Concerns in the Metropolitan Washington, D.C., Area in the Aftermath of the September 11, 2001 Tragedies. Ch.6 Fears and Concerns of Affected, At-Risk Communities. www.usccr.gov/pubs/sac/dc0603/ch6.htm

²⁸ Singh, Rajwant, Sikh Council on Religion and Education. Civil Rights Concerns in the Metropolitan Washington, D.C., Area in the Aftermath of the September 11, 2001 Tragedies. Ch.6 Fears and Concerns of Affected, At-Risk Communities. www.usccr.gov/pubs/sac/dc0603/ch6.htm

²⁹ Dutta, Gautam. Civil Rights Concerns in the Metropolitan Washington, D.C., Area in the Aftermath of the September 11, 2001 Tragedies. Ch.6 Fears and Concerns of Affected, At-Risk Communities. www.usccr.gov/pubs/sac/dc0603/ch6.htm

³⁰ Fritsch, Steve. "The Muslim American Community: Two Years After 9-11." Queen City Forum. November 1, 2003. <http://www.queencityforum.com/FritschArchive06.html>

³¹ Arzu, Lila. "Vandals Scrawl Racial Slurs, Damage Vehicles on Olney Street." *The Washington Post*. October 13, 2003.

Muslims, Arabs and Islamic organizations have been threatened by telephone, mail and email. The Prince George's Muslim Association's offices in Prince George's County were broken into in March 2004. Nothing was taken, but the offices were in disarray. The media did not comprehensively cover this shocking incident.³² Furthermore, the ADC confirms 45 incidents of violent harassment in schools and 23 cases of denial of service in restaurants since September 11, 2001.³³

There have been numerous incidents where Muslim women have been asked or forced to remove their veils in order to make others around them feel at ease. This has occurred in schools, places of employment and at airports. In Muskogee, Oklahoma, eleven-year-old Nashala Hearn was forced to leave the Ben Franklin Science Academy and then suspended for three days because she would not remove her hijab. School officials said that her headscarf violates a school policy that prohibits students from wearing hats or head gear in order "to stem gang-related activity."³⁴ Nashala protested that removing her hijab would violate the observation of her religion. When she returned to the school, she again wore her hijab and was suspended for a second time.³⁵

Muslim Americans have been discriminated against at places of work or in the process of seeking employment. In one of many similar cases, the Asplundh Tree Expert Company denied Angelo Grant permission to attend Friday prayers. The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) found that Grant's claims of being religiously discriminated against were reasonably founded. The EEOC has reported over

³² Swanson, Vincent J. "Office Break-In at Prince George's Muslim Association Raises Concern About Post September 11th Backlash." *The Sentinel*. March 20, 2004.
<http://www.thesentinel.com/280079623702626.php>

³³ W. Shora, Kareem. 2003.

³⁴ Fenwick, Ben. "Muslim Girl Suspended From Oklahoma School Over Scarf." *Reuters*. October 11, 2003.

³⁵ Stogsdill, Sheila K. "Muslim Girl's Father Plans Lawsuit Over School Rule." *The Oklahoman*. October 11, 2003.

1, 000 complaints of Muslim Americans being discriminated against at their workplace over the past two years, despite Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which protects all employees from discrimination based on sex, race, religion, color or nationality. “Religion includes all aspects of religious observance and practice, as well as belief, unless an employer demonstrates that he is unable to reasonably accommodate to an employee's or prospective employee's religious observance or practice without undue hardship on the conduct of the employer's business.”³⁶

Applications for jobs and housing have been including the question, “Are you a Muslim?” Johari Abdul-Malik, Muslim chaplain at Howard University, tells an account of a man who was qualified in his field, yet was never called back for jobs that he applied for. “So he changed his name from Khalid to Ted and was hired in a week.”³⁷ The ADC verifies 230 occurrences of discrimination in the workplace since September 11, 2001. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has handled these cases and has even established a new name for instances related to Islamophobia: Code Z. There has been increased hostility between employees and many Sikh Americans have been forced to cut their hair and beards and remove their turbans at work or lose their jobs.³⁸

Hate crimes have increased in response to perceived increased threats to U.S. security, as measured and made public by the U.S. government’s color codes, and to specific attacks against the United States abroad. Spokesperson for CAIR Rabiah Ahmed says, "Every time there is some type of suicide bombing done in the name of Islam or

³⁶ “Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.” The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. 1/15/97. <http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/vii.html>

³⁷ Abdul-Malik, Johari. Civil Rights Concerns in the Metropolitan Washington, D.C., Area in the Aftermath if the September 11, 2001 Tragedies. Ch.6 Fears and Concerns of Affected, At-Risk Communities. www.usccr.gov/pubs/sac/dc0603/ch6.htm

³⁸ Singh, Rajwant. Sikh Council on Religion and Education. Civil Rights Concerns in the Metropolitan Washington, D.C., Area in the Aftermath if the September 11, 2001 Tragedies. Ch.6 Fears and Concerns of Affected, At-Risk Communities. www.usccr.gov/pubs/sac/dc0603/ch6.htm

after the beginning of the Iraq War, we all brace ourselves for a backlash. Some (victims) aren't even Muslim."³⁹

Verbal Abuse

Attacks on Muslim Americans have not only included physical and property damage. Verbal abuse is more difficult to measure, but is perhaps more prevalent and pervasive. This ranges from street harassment to formal speeches and interviews, from children in schools calling a Muslim student "Bin Laden" to some government representatives' or candidates' patronizing statements toward Islam or outright connections between Islam and terrorism, such as former Congressman Bob Dornan from California, who described the Qu'ran as "a book of war and terrorism."⁴⁰ Victims are heckled in the streets from passersby to drivers calling out through their windows, "Terrorist!" or "Go back to where you came from, Mohammed!"

Top evangelical Christian leaders have spoken out harshly against Islam, including Franklin Graham, Benny Hinn, Pat Robertson, Jimmy Swaggart and Jerry Falwell. On November 16, 2001, Franklin Graham went on *NBC Nightly News* and said, "We're not attacking Islam but Islam has attacked us... and I believe it is a very evil and wicked religion... It wasn't Methodists flying into those buildings, it wasn't Lutherans. It was an attack on this country by people of Islamic faith."ⁱ Nihad Awad, the executive director of CAIR, wrote a letter to Graham three days later requesting a meeting in order to inform him about Islam, what it really promotes and how Muslims interpret the

³⁹ Henry, Ray. March 20, 2004.

⁴⁰ White, Bill. "Tiny Pro-War at Lincoln Memorial." Overthrow.com. 3/23/03.
<http://www.overthrow.com/lsn/news.asp?articleID=4137>

Qu'ran, in order “to promote inter-religious understanding and mutual respect.” Franklin Graham has not met this request.ⁱⁱ

Many Americans do not respect others’ rights to worship or believe as they wish, and instead hold on firmly to a single, fixed ideology as the ultimate, unquestionable truth for all. Such habits contradict the pluralist society that the United States idealistically professes to be. J. Don George, the senior pastor of Calvary Temple in Irving, TX stated, “Any religion or ideology that refuses to acknowledge the lordship of Jesus Christ could be typified as a war against Satan.”⁴¹ On October 6, 2002, evangelist Jerry Falwell called the prophet Muhammad a terrorist on the CBS television show *60 Minutes*. His remarks sparked violent riots in India between Hindus and Muslims, killing at least ten people.⁴² Reverend Pat Robertson, who founded the Christian Coalition, is known for his infamous claim, “Adolf Hitler was bad, but what the Muslims want to do to the Jews is worse.”⁴³ The declaration is entirely unfounded and inappropriate. Muslims have no history of violence against any group of people, including Jews, and, contrary to what some believe, the teachings of Islam do not specifically call for violence against anyone. Comparing Islam to Nazism is a harsh statement and is deeply felt in the hearts of many Americans because of its reference to the Holocaust, the genocide that Americans are repeatedly made well aware of. Comments and published works comparing the 9/11 terrorist attacks and terrorist plans against the United States to the Holocaust and radical Islamic fundamentalists to the Nazis have resounded across the U.S. in both media and politics.

⁴¹ “Verbal Attacks on Muslims by: Graham, Buckley, Hinn, Falwell, Robertson, Swaggart & Baldwin.” *ReligiousTolerance.org*. Visited 9/17/2003. www.religioustolerance.org/reac_ter18b.htm

⁴² “Verbal Attacks on Muslims by: Graham, Buckley, Hinn, Falwell, Robertson, Swaggart & Baldwin.”

⁴³ Cohen, Richard. *Washington Post*. Dec. 2, 2002.

It is not as difficult to understand where these notions are coming from when President George W. Bush makes similar assertions. In his State of the Union address on September 20, 2001, President Bush explicitly links terrorism to Islam, “The terrorists are traitors to their own faith, trying, in effect, to hijack Islam itself.”⁴⁴ As he address Muslims, President Bush does say that, “We respect your faith,” but by saying that terrorism is not inherent to Islam, but is rather an extreme form of Islam, he conveys that terrorism is essentially connected with, if not directly a product of, Islam and thus making all Muslims *suspect*, if not guilty. He continues his description of terrorists: “By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions -- by abandoning every value except the will to power -- they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism. And they will follow that path all the way, to where it ends: in history's unmarked grave of discarded lies.” Comments like this prey on the American public's ignorance and emotions, persuading people to support the administration based on past fears instead of reasonably justifying current policies. As President Bush associates terrorism to Islam, albeit a radical form, and Nazism, he sends out the message that Islam poses a threat to the U.S. In his words, terrorists are radical Muslims and challenge the U.S. and what it stands for. Bush calls out, “Every nation, every region, now has a decision to make. Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists.” Muslim individuals and populations should be considered with caution and suspicion until it is made clear that they are on the American side. In the eyes of many Americans, Muslims are guilty until proven innocent.

⁴⁴ Bush, George W. *Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People*. The White House, 9/20/01. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>

General William Boykin called Islam ‘Satan’ and Muslims ‘idol worshippers’ in October 2003. In speaking of his current endeavor to catch a Muslim warlord of Somalia, Boykin declared, “I knew my God was bigger than his. I knew that my God was a real God and his was an idol.”⁴⁵ Despite serious requests, President Bush has not removed General Boykin from office. This prejudicial mentality from America’s leaders was reinforced when the Secretary of Education, Rod Paige, referred to the National Education Association as a “terrorist organization.”⁴⁶ Statements such as these are not always preceded by the reminder that terrorism is not indicative of Islam, that it does not represent the attitudes and behaviors of all Muslims or, furthermore, that many terrorists are not affiliated with Islam whatsoever. What do most non-Muslim Americans know about Muslims? Only what they read or hear. If what they are hearing is consistently negative, horrific comments like these, their perspectives are likely to be skewed.

⁴⁵ “U.S. is Battling Satan” BBC News. 10/17/03. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/3199212.stm>

⁴⁶ Goldstein, Amy. “Paige Calls NEA a ‘Terrorist’ Group.” Washingtonpost.com. 2/24/04. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&node=&contentId=A64712-2004Feb23¬Found=true>

The Media

Voices that are emitted through the media reach the ears and minds of Americans throughout the nation and have great power in creating a lasting image or idea. These opinions do not need to be supported with evidence or even reasonable for them to be influential. When certain opinions or ideas are expressed over and over on television, radio and in print, these images make a mark on the public's consciousness and inevitably influence how others' perspectives. It is extremely dangerous when our newspapers print discriminating editorials and our television news programs flash pictures of Arab and Muslim men as terrorists. The collective media is presenting its public with a biased, prejudiced viewpoint through the subjects and events they choose to cover, word choices, images and framing.

In 2002, *The Tallahassee Democrat* printed a discriminating cartoon of the prophet Mohammed wearing Arabian clothes and driving a truck like the one that Timothy McVeigh drove in 1995 with a nuclear bomb on its back. The caption read, "What Would Mohammed drive?"⁴⁷ This cartoon was created in response to the

⁴⁷ "Despite American Newspaper Apology, Islamophobia Still Evident from September 11 Investigation." The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights. 4/21/2003. www.eohr.org/PRESS/2003/1-4.HTM

controversy over the anti-SUV advertisement campaign “What Would Jesus Drive?” used to convince people that SUVs are harmful to the environment. On March 10, 2004, KFI-AM radio station out of Anaheim, California aired a skit that mocked the new constitution of Iraq. Someone pretending to be Muslim read the so-called Iraqi constitution with a thick accent, which included strong language against Jews and women and endorsing injustices.⁴⁸ The station gave an on air apology after severe criticism and CAIR has filed federal complaints.

The media certainly covered the hunt for the terrorists, but notably neglected to adequately portray the threatening actions our own government took against individuals’ civil liberties and the severity of the hate crimes that occurred in the September 11 backlash. For example, Steven Brill covers the significant events that occurred in the year following September 11, 2001 on a daily basis in his book *After: How America Confronted the September 12 Era*. He does not, however, address any hate crimes or acts of discrimination against Muslims, Arabs, Sikhs or others perceived to be terrorists. The backlash is not mentioned nor is the government’s response, or lack thereof, to this emergent social problem.

Perhaps more devastating and damaging than physical harm are the existing negative views manifested by such incidents and misrepresentations of Islam that permeate American society. A few years since September 11, the media has become more conscious in its representation of Islam, but now makes claims against Islam that

⁴⁸ Wilson, Jeff. “Islamic rights group files FCC complaint over LA radio skit.” *The Mercury News*. March 19, 2004.

<http://www.mercurynews.com/mld/mercurynews/news/local/states/california/peninsula/8229299.htm>

Those entering heaven would be granted 72 virgins (an apparent reference to statements by the Sept. 11 hijackers) who would "not be hairy Iraqi women, but lovely Japanese schoolgirls." Iraqi adults, the skit said, would be allowed consenting relationships with "loving camels and goats." The mock-Muslim repeatedly praised Allah while reading the script, which included sections that said "death to the Jews," "kill all the Jews" and "the Hebrew must die."

are more subtle and even unintentional. In its attempt to represent Islam without considering voices of Muslims themselves or the wide range of experiences of Muslims in the United States and throughout the world, the media makes claims against Islam that reduce Muslims to a specific “kind” or “type” of person or community. President Bush and many Americans often allows for two kinds of Muslims—those who are with us and those who are not, a.k.a. terrorists. This reductionism and essentialism not only labels Muslim Americans with specific characteristics, but also constructs their role in U.S. society. If Muslim Americans who disagree with U.S. policy are deemed suspect for terrorism, how can Muslim Americans assert personal and political freedoms? These claims asserted by the media are not deliberate, but perhaps that is why they are even more worrisome. American society is making substantial claims on the identity, role and attributes of Muslim Americans, without listening to their voices, and is unconscious of this grave social crime that it is committing.

The media and its attempts to depict or represent Islam do not allow Muslim Americans to speak for themselves. Georgetown University student Tyseer from Minneapolis, MN says, “People are using their own criteria to define things that have their own way of being defined.” More often than not, Non-Muslims are speaking on News programs and talk shows as ‘experts’ on Islam. Thus, Islam in the United States is often misrepresented and does not cover the wide range of Muslim American experiences in the U.S. There was a debate held at the University of Pennsylvania in December 2003 over current issues regarding Islam in American society. Only two views were offered in this debate, one being that of Daniel Pipes.

Television is extremely influential in shaping people's political opinions and is the principle source of information for many Americans: 80% of Americans say they get their news mainly from television and radio, while only 19% rely on printed sources.⁴⁹ The three major networks reign in over 30 million viewers each evening for their news programs: the "Nightly News" on NBC with Tom Brokaw is the number one news show with 11.3 million Americans tuning in every evening; Peter Jennings' "World News Tonight" on ABC comes in second with 10.7 million viewers; and the "Evening News" with Dan Rather on CBS takes third place with 9.6 million viewers.⁵⁰ Clearly these television programs have enormous power in shaping public perceptions and opinion. The images and language used form how many Americans think, such as in terms the labeling, understanding and prioritizing of issues. According to the ADT Research of New York, which follows the three largest television networks in the U.S. on a weekly basis, in 2003 the top four issues covered in the national networks news programs were related to the War in Iraq and constituted 30% of all news, the fifth story covered in greatest length was the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the sixth was Arnold Schwarzenegger's recall election in California and number seven was domestic terrorism preparedness. The search for al-Qaeda was the second most covered foreign story, following the SARS epidemic.⁵¹ The stories the networks choose to cover determine which issues are at the forefront of many Americans' minds. Most of the top stories have to do with the Bush Administration's War on Terror, constantly reminding Americans

⁴⁹ "Misperceptions, the Media and the Iraq War." The PIPA/Knowledge Networks Poll. 10/2/03.
http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/Iraq/Media_10_02_03_Report.pdf

⁵⁰ Dorsey, Tom. "Do You Really Care Who Holds No. 1 Spot?" The Courier Journal. 1/30/02.
<http://www.courier-journal.com/features/columns/dorsey/fe20020130dorsey.html>

⁵¹ Lobe, Jim. "Iraq Blotted Out Rest of World in 2003." Oneworld.net. 1/7/04.
www.oneworld.net/article/view/76280/1/

that terrorists are a threat to national security and that the most serious terrorists currently threatening us are Islamic fundamentalists. Although the coverage of the War on Terror is continuous, it is not comprehensive. The Project for Excellence in Journalism (March 2004) reported that the main 24-hour television news networks—Fox, CNN and MSNBC—each pick about five stories each day and reuse bits of information on these select stories over and over. “Only 5% of stories on cable have new information, the study found, while two-thirds of stories repeat over and over.”⁵² Fox is the number one watched news channel with a following of 802, 000 Americans per night and CNN follows closely with 717, 000 audience members.⁵³ Thus, most Americans receive news on a very narrow range of topics and the depth of information on the few issues that are covered is extremely shallow. This type of information does not make people extensively more aware of issues that they do not learn about through other means (classes, community, books, articles, newspapers), especially on such wide-ranging subjects as Islam, the teachings of the Qu’ran, the different sects of Islam, or social and political experiences of Muslim Americans.

When Muslims are portrayed in the media, they are often visually depicted in traditional Muslim dress and as Arab—beards and turbans for the men, veils for the women and Arabic accents. This has been the case with much of the entertainment media. Hollywood has stereotypically depicted Muslims throughout the twentieth century, from *Ben-Hur* to *The Siege*. Comic strips depicting Muslims capitalize on large turbans, beards, robes and large noses to caricaturize Muslim men and veils and sexuality, often expressed by exaggerated bodily curves and large, dark seductive eyes on a veiled face

⁵² Johnson, Peter. “This Just In: The Future of News.” UA Today. 3/14/04.
www.usatoday.com/life/2004-03-14-pew-report_x.htm

⁵³ Lobe, Jim. 1/7/04.

for Muslim women. These images used over the last half century have become recognizable by Americans to indicate “Muslim” and define Islam. They have coincided with Western Orientalist notions that identify Islam through its imagined binary opposition to everything Western.

Immediately following 9/11 there were many images on television that further portrayed Islam in a narrow and negative vein, in news’ programs’ direct association of Islam with terrorism, complete with images from Arab nations of people celebrating the destruction of the United States or protesting against America. Such footage is taken in the tiniest snippets to give viewers a taste of what is happening in other nations and fit into the networks’ story of the day. Such bits are rarely conveyed in their full context and rarely last for longer than a handful of seconds. Simply watching such news programs is inadequate for gaining a comprehensive view of Muslims, both American and non-American.

The U.S. Government

After the attacks of September 11, 2001 the U.S. government took steps to further contain dissent and restrict civil liberties while increasing law enforcement. The U.S.A. Patriot Act, signed into law on October 26, 2001 embodies the U.S. government's reaction to September 11 on its own citizens. It strips away civil liberties including protesting, the right to a fair trial or the right to a lawyer, while increasing surveillance of phone calls, the internet, library records and credit card records. The Patriot Act has enabled our government to commit innumerable civil rights violations at will behind slippery facades or even with blatant secrecy. Since the enactment of this bill, President Bush approved a new kind of military tribunal to be used against people accused of terrorism. "These tribunals have lower standards of proof and admissibility of evidence than ordinary judicial processes" (Jayasuriya, 133). In November 2003 the Department of Justice issued a report to Congress acknowledging that it has in fact used the Patriot Act for other purposes against its citizens. According to the San Francisco Gate, the Dept. of Justice admits to abusing its powers "to investigate, wiretap, survey and confiscate

millions of dollars in alleged crime-related assets from U.S. citizens."⁵⁴ It has exercised its surveillance privileges in non-terrorist related investigations.

The idea that the U.S. government is allowed to take ‘whatever means necessary’ due to a state of emergency is dangerous and repulsive to individual liberties. Americans did not choose to relinquish their basic rights for what their government decided was necessary for their security. Again, there was no public discussion of the necessity of this act or of its contents. On the contrary, it was pushed through Congress quickly on intimidation, fear and the coattails of other important acts. This act was launched through Congress and made it through in the same day that it was proposed, allowing for next to no time for representatives to read the over 300-page act. The act was passed the second week of October 2001 and by the middle of the month, the FBI stated that it had already arrested over 600 people. The FBI did not, however, reveal these people’s identities or the government’s reasons for their detainment.⁵⁵ This number doubled by December to over 1200 people arrested. Of this figure, only a dozen were actually charged with a crime and only one, Zacharias Maussaoui, had been charged with a crime related to the attacks of 9/11. Despite the low outcome, the U.S. government continued on its witch-hunt and torture remains a viable option for those who do not cooperate.⁵⁶

On March 20-21 2002, 150 federal agents under the U.S. Customs Service performed a series of raids on Muslim American homes, businesses, schools and organizations in the Herndon-Leesburg, Virginia area in an attempt to gain information on the financing of terrorist organizations. These raids were named Operation Green

⁵⁴ "Abuse of the Patriot Act." The San Francisco Gate. Oct. 8, 2003.

<http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/chronicle/archive/2003/10/08/EDGL626TD81.DTL>

⁵⁵ "The World Trade Center Demolition and the So-Called War on Terrorism." Serendipity.

<http://serendipity.ptpi.net/wtc10.htm>

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* (serendipity)

Quest and were carried out on people without significant evidence against the victims. One of the homes that were raided belonged to Dr. Al Alwani, who had encouraged Muslim Americans to join in the war against terrorism and sign up for the U.S. military to fight in Afghanistan. He was known for proclaiming the righteousness of the U.S. in mosques. “His house was raided and his wife was forced to remain for seven hours in her sleeping clothes, not allowed to cover her head. Cupboards were broken, TVs were broken.”⁵⁷ Federal agents were forceful and violent towards these Muslim Americans, breaking down doors, holding people at gunpoint, handcuffing individuals on the spot, and seizing personal property of all kinds, including computers. Activists formed the Platform for Active Civil Empowerment (PAC) in response to the raids and increase in civil rights violations against Muslims following 9/11. This organization plans to work with elected officials on countering these abuses and enforcing the respect of civil liberties.

Even if our government decides to enact a state of emergency, the idea of a state of emergency is that it’s a *state*, i.e. it is temporary. The U.S. government legalized the Patriot Act over two years ago and its infringements and violations on civil rights continue to pervade our nation to this day. The government has seized this opportunity to expand its control from New York to Oregon and has not treated this strangulation of freedom as a fleeting moment for our greater good, but rather as a normalized tool for conducting its policies. The state of emergency has become a part of our every day lives and the average American does not realize how he or she is being victimized and violated for the sake of its government’s abusive powers.

⁵⁷ Hendi, Yahya. *Civil Rights Concerns in the Metropolitan Washington, D.C. Area in the Aftermath of the September 11, 2001 Tragedies*. Ch. 3: “Understanding Islam in America in the Aftermath of September 11.” www.usccr.gov/pubs/sac/dc0603/ch3.htm Visited 10/21/2003.

After the September 11 attacks, the Pentagon mobilized immediately to hunt down their list of suspects. Attorney General John Ashcroft announced on September 22 that 352 people had already been arrested or detained in the investigation. All suspects were detained without a lawyer and all hearings were closed to the public.⁵⁸

A significant part of the U.S.A. Patriot Act falls under Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) reform. Sweeping changes include Section 403, which allows the Department of State and the INS to access what had previously been considered classified information regarding the identity of individuals applying for a visa or admission into the United States, such as criminal records. Classified information will become available to border patrol officers, consular officers issuing visas, federal inspection agents, and all pertinent law enforcement and intelligent officers. The identification process has become more detailed and personal, resulting in an even larger backlog and the detainment of many innocent immigrants. The act called for the implementation of fingerprinting for all people seeking visas or admission into the U.S. and allotted at least \$2 million for this project.⁵⁹ The INS has instituted a Detainee Classification System for all non-citizens requesting entry. The INS first collects as much data as possible on an alien from official records and observations, such as criminal records, history of violence, work folder, A-file and any other information that the INS has collected. Then the alien undergoes the classification process to determine which group he or she falls under: Service Processing Centers (SPCs), Contract Detention

⁵⁸ Brill, 115.

⁵⁹ *Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT ACT) Act of 2001.*

<http://uscis.gov/lpBin/lpext.dll/inserts/publaw/publaw-24312?f=templates&fn=document frame.htm#publaw-pl10756>

10/26/01

Facilities (CDFs) and Intergovernmental Service Agreements (IGSAs). The latter is able to hold aliens for more than seventy-two hours and the first two groups further divide the subjects into three levels characterized by color-coded uniforms and wristbands: Level 1 is dark blue and includes minor criminal records. Level 2 is bright orange and level 3 is dark red and consists of those aliens considered to be most threatening.

The classification process entails a series of questions and the subject's answers receive point values, based on the Primary Assessment Scale. Once the points add up to seven, the alien is automatically labeled a level 3 detainee. INS claims that the questions asked "have been found to be associated with future conduct and thus help identify the types of risk likely to be presented by the detainee," but the questions include country of citizenship and whether or not the applicant speaks English, and other languages spoken.⁶⁰ It is possible for an applicant to get over seven points based solely on their country of citizenship. If the subject passes the first basic questions, he or she is asked a series of 'Special Management Concerns', the final one listed in bold lettering **Terrorist Activity/Terrorist (Auto. L-3)**. This indicates that anyone falling under the vague, subjectively defined label of a terrorist is automatically classified as a level 3 detainee. The INS Detention Standard defines a terrorist as:

Any detainee documented as being a part of a terrorist group, suspected of making terrorist threats, or convicted of defined terrorist activity or crimes will be housed in a Maximum Security area and classified level three regardless of custody sale evaluation scores. Detainees identified in this category will remain in a lock-down status in an approved and recognized Administrative Segregation Unit.⁶¹

⁶⁰ "INS Detention Standard: Detainee Classification System." <http://uscis.gov/graphics/lawsregs/classif.pdf>

⁶¹ *ibid.*

The vague, ambiguous language leaves too much room for individual interpretation of the law. Individual subjectivity, prejudices and biases can judge who appears to be a terrorist and who does not. Subsequently, many innocent people have been detained, in some cases indefinitely, in prison-like conditions working for \$1 per day, if at all.

After September 11, the United States refocused its lens on geographic areas that are viewed as more likely to harbor terrorists. For example, customs focused on South America and South Asia pre 9/11 because of the war on drugs, but are now concerned with packages going to and coming from the Middle East, North Africa and Asia because of the war on terrorism.

The U.S. government's response to the discrimination of Muslim Americans has been one of mixed signals, at best. It certainly has not adequately worked to diffuse prejudices against Islam or Muslim Americans nor sufficiently responded to the requests of Muslim Americans or national organizations working for the civil rights of Muslim Americans. Yes, President Bush has visited a mosque and has said that Islam is a religion of peace. However, he also has called his War on Terrorism a crusade (September 16, 2001). The Bush administration loyally affiliates itself with discriminating Christian conservatives. Reverend Franklin Graham, an Evangelical Christian leader who has been known to make strong anti-Muslim assertions, led prayers at his presidential inauguration. The Pentagon, the center of U.S. political and military policy implementation, invited Franklin Graham to perform its Good Friday services on April 18, 2003. This came after many of Franklin's public remarks defaming Islam, including his appearance on the *NBC Nightly News* in November 2001, where he said, "We're not

attacking Islam, but Islam has attacked us. The God of Islam is not the same God... It's a different God and I believe it is a very evil and wicked religion... It wasn't Methodists flying into those buildings, it wasn't Lutherans. It was an attack on this country by people of the Islamic faith."⁶² The Muslim Public Affairs' Council wrote to the Pentagon in response to its invitation to Rev. Franklin, "By Sponsoring and promoting a visit to the Pentagon by an extreme fundamentalist like Mr. Graham, the Pentagon Chaplain's Office is sending a message that it and the Department of Defense condone public displays of attitudes and thoughts that contradict not only Department of Defense regulations but also the American ideal of religious tolerance."⁶³ Muslim Americans and Islamic organizations recognize the huge discrepancy that exists between what our institutions preach on paper and how they act on a daily basis. The Pentagon is a federal institution that is representative of the U.S. government. Inviting Mr. Graham to perform its church services is not only utterly disrespectful and inconsiderate of Muslim Americans, but also portrays itself, and implicitly the state, in favor of such hateful, discriminatory slander.

The U.S. government has not come across in a responsive, sensitive way to the growing anti-Muslim sentiment among its citizens. Poor decisions and outright endorsement of discrimination exacerbate anti-Islamic sentiment. This includes the government's foreign relations with Arab and Muslim nations, which are not conducted with tolerance and understanding, but with an heir of superiority and desire to control and coerce other nations into acquiescing to U.S. interests. U.S. evangelists, for example, have been entering Muslim countries with resources and funding under the pretense of

⁶² Robinson, B.A. "Verbal Attacks on Muslims By: Graham, Buckley, Hinn, Falwell, Robertson, Swaggart & Baldwin." ReligiousTolerance.org. 2001, 2003. www.religioustolerance.org/reac_ter18b.htm

⁶³ "Verbal Attacks on Muslims by: Graham, Buckley, Hinn, Falwell, Robertson, Swaggart & Baldwin." ReligiousTolerance.org. Visited 9/17/2003. www.religioustolerance.org/reac_ter18b.htm

aid workers. Similarly, Operation Christmas Child spreads Christianity throughout the world by giving shoeboxes of goods, small gifts and Christian literature throughout the world. Over the past 10 years, 24 million shoeboxes have been delivered, making it the world's largest children's Christmas project. Every president since Ronald Reagan has packed a shoebox for Operation Christmas Child."⁶⁴ The U.S. government supports religious propaganda campaigns in the name of charity to increase and legitimize its global power. Anti-Islamic sentiment and biases among Americans support many aspects of the U.S. government's foreign policy.

⁶⁴ Fraser, Giles. "The world's largest children's Christmas project has a toxic agenda." The Guardian. November 10, 2003.

Muslim American Perspectives

There is a wide range of experiences and reactions to September 11, 2001 among Muslim Americans. Some have not felt a significant social change, others have left the United States altogether, some have been detained or imprisoned, others speak of positive effects like increased interaction and understanding from their community, while others feel as if the terrorist attacks have negated all social gains that Muslim Americans had been working toward until this point. Some Muslims and Arabs have been questioning their identity more so since September 11, as they try to assimilate into American society, but are continuously shut out. Many wonder, what constitutes an American? Am I an American? Can I be safe, being who I am, in America? Some find it hard to understand why they were accepted before September 11, but since that day have not felt wholly American or comfortable among other Americans. Talat Hamdani, a Pakistani New Yorker whose son, Mohammed Salman, has been missing since trying to rescue others in the World Trade Center, said, “Because of this tragedy, terrorism and Islam have become synonymous.”ⁱⁱⁱ

The social tension and fear of harassment or violence was so prevalent that on September 27, 2001, *The Muslim News*, a British monthly newspaper that deals with issues concerning many Muslims, published suggestions for Muslims in the West to take in order to better secure their personal safety: “Try not to travel alone or late at night. Do

not respond to verbal attacks. Place fire alarms in porches or under letterboxes. Purchase fire extinguishers. Keep in contact with each other and pray that God help and protect the Muslims in the days ahead.”⁶⁵ Shaikh Riyadh Nadwi in the same issue predicted, ““Muslims in general will be seen as secret if not public, supporters of Bin Laden and therefore fair game for all to attack

Some Muslim Americans have chosen to make personal changes in their appearance in order to avoid harassment. Other Muslim Americans have decided to change their names after 9/11. Some Muslim women have been fearful of wearing their traditional veils because it makes them more vulnerable targets of prejudice and harassment. The veil is a visible sign that publicly announces the Muslim women’s faith, but because of discrimination, violence and harassment, any extra attention is not wanted. One Yemeni woman explained how the veil is liberating because men respect her more when she wears it. But after September 11 she is afraid to wear it regularly “so I don’t look Muslim or Arab, so I don’t get too much stares.”⁶⁶

Many Muslim Americans believe that September 11 has stimulated them to become more active in U.S. society, becoming politically engaged and speaking out in public in order to get their voices heard. Georgetown University student Shadi says, “More Muslims are going into social sciences, art and the humanities. It is very important for influencing public opinion.” The young adult generation is more concerned with the integration, as opposed to complete assimilation, into U.S. society or an identity centered on their families’ countries of origin, as many of their parents have. Several Muslim Americans have decided to run for office to work against the discrimination and toward

⁶⁵ [The Muslim News](http://www.muslimnews.co.uk/news/news.php?sub=101). “Attack on America—An Islamic Perspective.” 9/27/01
www.muslimnews.co.uk/news/news.php?sub=101

⁶⁶ Rabyaah. *In My Own Skin*. 2001.

respect for civil rights, including Kamal Nawash and Afeefa Syeed in Virginia and Jamil Imran in Georgia.

Living in the U.S. offers much opportunity to break down barriers and increase cross-cultural understanding. Although there are incidents of racism and discrimination, the United States is a society that values individual expression and personal freedoms. Minorities have been able to struggle against dominant social forces, from gender hegemony to classism, sexism and Islamophobia.

Positive Responses

Following the attacks of September 11, 2001, there has been a strong effort to increase interfaith dialogue in the United States. Local communities have hosted information sessions, discussions and open forums to increase awareness and understanding between different religions. Many Americans have never learned about a religion apart from one in which they may have been raised, and even though Islam is practiced by millions of Americans, many remain ignorant of what the religion is based on or entails. Along with laypeople, there has been an increase in dialogue between leaders of different faiths. After 9/11, many churches and synagogues throughout the U.S. were open to Muslims and many church leaders encouraged members of their faith to be especially understanding and supportive to Muslims at that time. The increase in communication between faiths works toward breaking down stereotypes against Islam and enables Americans to think more objectively, which is increasingly difficult with persuasive and biased media coverage.

Muslim American organizations have worked to bring Muslims together, offer support and increase awareness of Islam and Muslims in their respective communities. Muslim Student Associations (MSA) at universities across the country have been extremely supportive and active in handling many of the issues currently pressing to Muslim Americans and Muslim students. At the end of October 2003, MSA planned “Islamic Awareness Week” to increase understanding between Muslims and non-

Muslims. Not only do events such as this offer support to Muslim Americans, but welcomes people of all faiths to celebrate and learn about Islam.

Conclusions

A strong anti-Islamic sentiment exists in U.S. society and is manifested daily through politics, the media, and in social interactions. September 11 dramatically increased, but did not create, this Islamophobia in America. Islamophobia is a term that has come to identify the fear of, prejudice and discrimination toward Islam and Muslims, by non-Muslims. The term Islamophobia only recently became a part of cultural and intellectual discourse in the U.S. after September 11, 2001, reflecting the increase in social tension between non-Muslims and Muslims and the association of Islam with terrorism.

Terrorist is a broad term that signifies anyone who questions, opposes or seeks to change a ruling power through violence or the threat of violence. It may come from outside the state or from within its own borders. This intense fear of anyone who engages in the slightest degree of such activity is extremely dangerous to democracy and individual liberties. It instills a dominant worldview—in the case of the United States, one of military, force and hegemonic power—and suppresses all divergent ideas and opinions. This is in direct contradiction to notions of civil liberties and democratic freedoms. Furthermore, differing ideas help a society as a whole, as they offer greater insight and foster more ideas for solutions and policies. Gandhi, Nelson Mandela and other prominent leaders and thinkers were once considered terrorists, but over time people have come to greatly admire these people and recognize the value in their

convictions. Because the U.S. government does not adhere to a policy of open discussion, dissenting parties, both in the international and domestic arenas, have no medium for expressing their views or contesting U.S. policy. The United States does not interact with any actor unless it is forced to, and only then out for reasons of national security or economic and political interest. This stance enforces the likelihood for dissenting groups to resort to violence. There is no way to 'reach' the U.S., to challenge its superior position, to have one's voice heard. All over the world, U.S. wealth and hegemony reign over poor and sick peoples who cannot do anything to combat their harsh conditions that are influenced or imposed by U.S. foreign policy or American-held multi-national corporations.

In the domestic sphere, the fear of terrorism deters Americans from questioning their government. The government has been increasing its control and influence on public spaces traditionally set aside for discussion and questioning, such as places for protests and universities. Opinions that contest the U.S. position are often immediately held in suspicion. On September 12, 2001, I attended my government class at Georgetown University and the professor held an 'open' discussion on the horrific attacks that occurred the day before. After much talk on how the government must respond militarily and what must be done to the perpetrators, one student stood up and suggested that we think about the United States in terms of its place in and relationship with the rest of the world and why these attacks took place, why people might be so infuriated with the United States. The classroom exploded with offensive comments toward the student, rebuking him for his naivety. Differing voices are not taken into consideration as valid points for discussion, but in our Post 9/11 fearful mindsets, are instantly seen as threats.

Fears and emotions ran exceptionally high immediately after the attacks, but, as evidenced by the discourse in our media, politics and society, the significant number hate crimes and the discrimination that a range of actors commit against Muslim Americans, the suspicions and tensions prevail years later.

Many Americans complicity accept information handed to them by the sources they trust with little or no second thought. Whatever Americans know about groups of people they learn through the media and their government—the two hands of U.S. hegemony. Thus, the stereotype that a terrorist looks Arab and is Muslim, because Muslims are fanatic fundamentalists, is born. But how do we account for the American fundamentalism that suppresses all opposition and follows any measure to pursue its interests? American fundamentalism promotes uniformity as patriotism and is quick to define terrorism as the greatest threat to the U.S., as the other, as Muslim and Arab. On April 19, 1995 the U.S. had its largest terrorist attack to date with the Oklahoma City bombing. All across the country people assumed that the horrific act was committed by Muslim fundamentalists, but American-born and U.S. army veteran Timothy McVeigh was ultimately charged with the crime. In July 1996, the following year, TWA flight 800 went down off the coast of Long Island killing 230 people. Muslim terrorists were again painted as the enemies, but it was later discovered that the plane exploded in mid-air due to mechanical problems with the fuel tank.

The discrimination targets Arabs, Muslims, South Asians and Sikh Americans, and has also included Latino Americans and African Americans. These people were immediately painted as the portrait of the terrorist, dividing Americans among each other through false assumptions, blame, and anger. Shaikh Riyad Nadwi from *The Muslim*

News predicted, “Muslims in general will be seen as secret if not public, supporters of Bin Laden and therefore fair game for all to attack,” and his foresight has become reality.⁶⁷ Despite its proclamations of ‘equality for all’ and impartial justice, the United States has a history of discrimination against minorities, from African-Americans, to women to non-heterosexuals, and of needing to give the enemy a face, such as the vilification of Japanese Americans during World War II and McCarthyism during the Cold War. Is it fear, anger or the insistence on finding a resolution that has perpetuated our history of victimization? This trend has served to maintain the American hierarchy and suppress the rights of minorities.

Those responsible must be held accountable; actions will not be kept secret any longer; all Americans, open your ears and hearts to the meaning of justice, and then stand up for the oppressed. This is not only a document of the intolerable occurrences and events that have permeated our society over the past two years, but is a call to action. To the U.S. government: you are responsible and are called to act on what you know has been treason to your people and to the ideals that America stands for. To fellow Americans: do not be consumed by fear, anger or ignorance, but rather act united and strong. Furthermore, you are obliged to hold your fellow citizens and your government responsible for its violations and infringements on our rights. Your rights are not guaranteed until all people’s rights are respected.

⁶⁷ Shaikh Riyadh Nadwi. *The Muslim News*. “Attack on America—An Islamic Perspective.” 9/27/01 www.muslimnews.co.uk/news/news.php?sub=101

Bibliography

- “2001 FBI Hate Crimes Statistics Act.” *Anti-Defamation League*. 2004.
http://www.adl.org/Learn/hate_crimes_laws/HCSA_FBI.asp
- “Abdeen Jabara: Champion from and of the Heartland.” CaféArabica.
<http://www.cafearabica.com/people/people12/peojabara1.html>
- Abdul-Malik, Johari. “Civil Rights Concerns in the Metropolitan Washington, D.C., Area in the Aftermath of the September 11, 2001 Tragedies.” Ch.6: *Fears and Concerns of Affected, At-Risk Communities*.
www.usccr.gov/pubs/sac/dc0603/ch6.htm
- "Abuse of the Patriot Act." *The San Francisco Gate*. Oct. 8, 2003.
<http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?file=/chronicle/archive/2003/10/08/EDGL626TD81.DTL>
- Altheide, David L. *Creating Fear: News and the Construction of Crisis*. New York: Walter de Gruyter, Inc., 2002.
- “Attack on America—An Islamic Perspective.” *The Muslim News*. 9/27/01
www.muslimnews.co.uk/news/news.php?sub=101
- Nu'man, Fareed H. “The Muslim Population in the U.S.—‘A Brief Statement’.”
American Muslim Council. Dec. 1992.
- Anti-Defamation League. www.adl.org/adl.asp
- Arzu, Lila. “Vandals Scrawl Racial Slurs, Damage Vehicles on Olney Street.” *The Washington Post*. October 13, 2003.
- The Association of Muslim Lawyers. <http://www.aml.org.uk/resources/islamophobia.htm>
- Ba-Yunus Ilyas and Siddiqui, M. Moin. *A Report on Muslim Population in the United States of America*. New York: Center for American Muslim Research and Information, 1998.
- Brill, Steven. *After: How America Confronted the September 12 Era*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2003.
- Bush, George W. *Address to a Joint Session of Congress and the American People*. The White House. 9/20/01.
<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010920-8.html>
- Calhoun, Craig, et.al. *Understanding September 11*. New York : New Press : Distributed

- by W.W. Norton, 2002
- “Despite American Newspaper Apology, Islamophobia Still Evident from September 11 Investigation.” The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights. 4/21/2003.
www.eohr.org/PRESS/2003/1-4.HTM
- Dorsey, Tom. “Do You Really Care Who Holds No. 1 Spot?” *The Courier Journal*. 1/30/02.
<http://www.courier-journal.com/features/columns/dorsey/fe20020130dorsey.html>
- Dutta, Gautam. “Civil Rights Concerns in the Metropolitan Washington, D.C., Area in the Aftermath of the September 11, 2001 Tragedies.” Ch.6: Fears and Concerns of Affected, At-Risk Communities. www.usccr.gov/pubs/sac/dc0603/ch6.htm
- Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting. www.fair.org
- Fenwick, Ben. “Muslim Girl Suspended From Oklahoma School Over Scarf.” *Reuters*. October 11, 2003
- “Fingerprinting Proposal is Discriminatory, Say Muslims.” *Media Review Net*. June 5, 2002.
<http://www.mediareviewnet.com/FINGERPRINTING%20PROPOSAL%20IS%20DISCRIMINATORY%20SAY%20MUSLIMS.htm>
- Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism. www.fairuk.org
- Fritsch, Steve. “The Muslim American Community: Two Years After 9-11.” *Queen City Forum*. November 1, 2003.
<http://www.queencyforum.com/FritschArchive06.html>
- Fuller, Steve. *Looking for Sociology after 11 September*. October 17, 2001.
<http://www.socresonline.org.uk/6/3/fuller.html>
- Gokay, Bulent and Walker, R.B.J. *11 September 2001: War, Terror and Judgement*. London, Portland, OR: Frank Cass, 2003.
- Goldstein, Amy. “Paige Calls NEA a ‘Terrorist’ Group.” *Washingtonpost.com*. 2/24/04.
<http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wpdyn?pagename=article&node=&contentId=A64712-2004Feb23¬Found=true>
- Halliday, Fred. *Two Hours that Shook the World: September 11, 2001: Causes and Consequences*. London: Saqi Books, 2002.
- Hasan, Asma Gull. *American Muslims*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc., 2002.

- Hendi, Yahya. *Civil Rights Concerns in the in the Metropolitan Washington, D.C. Area in the Aftermath of the September 11, 2001 Tragedies*. Ch. 3: "Understanding Islam in America in the Aftermath of September 11."
www.usccr.gov/pubs/sac/dc0603/ch3.htm visited 10/21/2003
- Henry, Ray. "Teen Gets 7 ½ Years For Attack on Student." *The Standard Times*. March 20, 2004.
<http://www.queencityforum.com/FritschArchive06.html>
- Henzell-Thomas, Jeremy. *The Language of Islamophobia*. Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism. September 28, 2003. <http://65.39.144.73/ISLAM/misc/phobia.htm>
- Hershberg, Eric and Moore, Kevin W. *Critical views of September 11 : Analyses from Around the World*. New York, NY: New Press, 2002.
- Honest Reports. www.honestreports.com/islamophobia.asp
- "INS Detention Standard: Detainee Classification System."
<http://uscis.gov/graphics/lawsregs/classif.pdf>
- Islam in the United States—a Tentative Ascent: A Conversation with Yvonne Haddad*. U.S. Department of State, International Information Programs.
<http://usinfo.state.gov/usa/islam/hadad.htm>
- Johnson, Peter. "This Just In: The Future of News." *UA Today*. 3/14/04.
www.usatoday.com/life/2004-03-14-pew-report_x.htm
- Kick, Russ. *50 Things You're Not Supposed To Know*. New York, NY: The Disinformation Company, Ltd, 2003.
- Leonard, Karen Isaksen. *Muslims in the United States*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation, 2003.
- Lesch, David W. *The Middle East and the United States*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2003.
- Lewis, Bernard. *The Middle East and The West*. New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964.
- Lobe, Jim. "Iraq Blotted Out Rest of the World in 2003." *Oneworld.net*. 1/7/04.
www.oneworld.net/article/view/76280/1/
- McAlister, Melanie. *Epic Encounters*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, Ltd. 2001.
- McGuckin, Frank. *Terrorism in the United States*. New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1997.

- Mehdi, Beverlee Turner. *The Arabs in America 1492-1977*. Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, 1978.
- Mikkelsen, Randall. "Bush Takes on Christian Right Over Anti-Islam Words." Middle East Information Center. November 13, 2001
<http://middleeastinfo.org/article1607.html>
- Miller, Abraham H. *Terrorism: The Media and the Law*. New York: Transnational Publishers, Inc., 1982.
- "Misperceptions, the Media and the Iraq War." The PIPA/Knowledge Networks Poll. 10/2/03. http://www.pipa.org/OnlineReports/Iraq/Media_10_02_03_Report.pdf
- "Muslim Groups Angered By Raids." CBS News.com. March 22, 2002.
<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/03/22/attack/main504366.shtml>
- Nadwi, Shaikh Riyad. "Attack on America—An Islamic Perspective." The Muslim News. 9/27/01 www.muslimnews.co.uk/news/news.php?sub=101
- Presidential Remarks*. U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division. Sept. 26 and 17, 2001. <http://www.usdoj.gov/crt/legalinfo/bushremarks.html>
- Pyszczynski, Tom, et.al. *In the Wake of 9/11: The Psychology of Terror*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2003.
- "Religion and Politics: Contention and Consensus: Growing Number Says Islam Encourages Violence Among Followers." The PEW Research Center. 07/24/03.
<http://people-press.org/reports/display.php3?ReportID=189> visited 2/26/04.
- Robinson, B.A. "Verbal Attacks on Muslims By: Graham, Buckley, Hinn, Falwell, Robertson, Swaggart & Baldwin." ReligiousTolerance.org. 2001, 2003.
www.religioustolerance.org/reac_ter18b.htm
- Ross, Wendy. "Bush at Islamic Center Urges Tolerance towards American Muslims." Islam For Today. September 17, 2001. <http://www.islamfortoday.com/bush01.htm>
- The Runnymede Trust. www.runnymedetrust.org
- Sabir, Nadirah Z. "A Year Later, Exploring What it Means to be an American and to be a Muslim." *The Muslim News*. Oct. 9, 2002.
www.muslimnews.co.uk/news/news.php?sub=177
- Said, Edward. "Arabs, Islam and the Dogmas of the West." *The New York Times Book Review*, 31. Oct, 1976.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. London: Pantheon Books, 1978.
- Said, Edward. "Orientalism 25 Years Later: Worldly Humanism v. the Empire-Builders."

- Counterpunch. 8/4/03
<http://www.counterpunch.org/said08052003.html>
- Sardar, Ziauddin. *Orientalism*. Buckingham, Philadelphia: Open University Press: 1999.
- Sayyid, Bobby S. *A Fundamental Fear: Eurocentrism and the Emergence of Islamism*. London; New York: Zed Books, 1997.
- Shah, Mowahid. "The FBI and the Civil Rights of Arab-Americans." ADC Issues. Issue 5. 1986.
- Simons, Thomas W., Jr. *Islam in a Globalizing World*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2003.
- Singh, Rajwant. "Civil Rights Concerns in the Metropolitan Washington, D.C., Area in the Aftermath of the September 11, 2001 Tragedies." Ch.6 Fears and Concerns of Affected, At-Risk Communities. www.usccr.gov/pubs/sac/dc0603/ch6.htm
- Smith III, Ted J., Lichter, S. Robert and Louis Harris and Associates, Inc. *What the People Want from the Press*. Washington, DC: Center for Media and Public Affairs, 1997.
- Stogsdill, Sheila K. "Muslim Girl's Father Plans Lawsuit Over School Rule." *The Oklahoman*. October 11, 2003.
- Swanson, Vincent J. "Office Break-In at Prince George's Muslim Association Raises Concerns About Post September 11th Backlash." *The Sentinel*. March 20, 2004.
<http://www.thesentinel.com/280079623702626.php>
- Talbott, Strobe and Chanda, Nayan. *The Age of Terror*. Basic Books, 2001.
- "Terrorist Attacks on Americans: 1979-1988." pbs online. 2001.
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/target/etc/cron.html>
- "Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." *The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission*. 1/15/97. <http://www.eeoc.gov/policy/vii.html>
- Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA PATRIOT ACT) Act of 2001*.
<http://uscis.gov/lpBin/lpext.dll/inserts/publaw/publaw-24312?f=templates&fn=document>
 frame.htm#publaw-pl10756. 10/26/01
- "U.S. is Battling Satan" BBC News. 10/17/03.
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/americas/3199212.stm>

“Verbal Attacks on Muslims by: Graham, Buckley, Hinn, Falwell, Robertson, Swaggart & Baldwin.” *ReligiousTolerance.org*. Visited 9/17/2003.
www.religioustolerance.org/reac_ter18b.htm

W. Shora, Kareem. *American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee*. “Civil Rights Concerns in the Metropolitan Washington, D.C., Area in the Aftermath of the September 11, 2001 Tragedies.” Ch.6: Fears and Concerns of Affected, At-Risk Communities. www.usccr.gov/pubs/sac/dc0603/ch6.htm

White, Bill. “Tiny Pro-War at Lincoln Memorial.” *Overthrow.com*. 3/23/03.
<http://www.outrage.com/lsn/news.asp?articleID=4137>

Wilson, Jeff. “Islamic rights group files FCC complaint over LA radio skit.” *The Mercury News*. March 19, 2004.
<http://www.mercurynews.com/mld/mercurynews/news/local/states/california/peninsula/8229299.htm>

Yazbeck Haddad, Yvonne. *Muslims and the West: from Sojourners to Citizens*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

ⁱ “Christian leader condemns Islam: Preacher Franklin Graham Calls Islam ‘Wicked, Violent,’” *MSNBC Nightly News*. www.msnbc.com/news/659057.asp

ⁱⁱ “Verbal Attacks on Muslims by: Graham, Buckley, Hinn, Falwell, Robertson, Swaggart & Baldwin.” *ReligiousTolerance.org*. Visited 9/17/2003. www.religioustolerance.org/reac_ter18b.htm

ⁱⁱⁱ Sabir, Nadirah Z. p. 4